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ABSTRACT

Using in-person questionnaires, 553 newcomers and 106 long-term residents were interviewed in late 1979 and early 1980 in 5 small northern California communities to explore the role of newcomers in developing the rural economy, and especially to analyze the resources emigrants bring with them: their skills, education, background, and business and financial resources. The five rural growth communities represented retirement, university/professional, government and public service, tourist, and counterculture communities. The basic theme that emerged was that rural migrants in California represented something substantially new to the state and the nation's traditional economic thinking. Migrants, rather than being attracted by new economic and employment opportunites, were a primary source for creation of jobs and a new type of economic growth. It would seem that rural areas are no longer economically depressed and lacking in the physical and human resources necessary to participation in a growing economy, at least in California. However, most governmental policies continue to be directed toward rural areas as though they suffer serious resource deficiencies. The emerging challenge for policy makers is to fashion policies that take advantage of the growth stimulus that newcomers and growth areas provide, while ensuring that the less advantaged benefit as well. (BRR)

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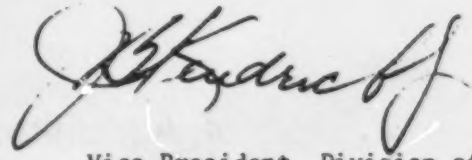
This is a continuation of the Division of Agricultural Sciences interest in issues concerning California's rural communities. California's leadership in the production of food and fiber has been a strong focus of the University of California's efforts for some time; this focus will continue and the issues of rural communities will now be included as a priority.

This series of Community Development research is sponsored in part by Title V of the Rural Development Act of 1972. This Act provides financial support to institutions of higher education for the development of research, technical assistance, and extension services "for the enhancement of the quality of life and the improvement of incomes and job opportunities in rural America."

This is one of a series of publications dealing with a variety of issues currently affecting rural communities. The major themes of this series are: understanding the nature of the changes with which our rural citizens are currently dealing; the exploration of ways in which rural areas might build their capacities with which they might respond to their needs within the context of declining resources and the pressures to modernize; the description of the multiple ways in which rural communities develop and how this might effect policy; and the investigation into the relationship of agriculture to rural communities and rural peoples.

This series will present reports from funded Title V projects as well as attempt to bring other related research efforts into the overall discussion. It is our intent that these publications should not only contribute positively in the development of a sound body of knowledge useful in understanding rural issues but that it should also stimulate interest in the generation of more information of use to those involved in the field.



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Resources of Recent Migrants to Rural Areas for Economic Development: Policy Implications

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Introduction

The population of rural California, as well as of the rural areas in most other states, has markedly increased in the 1970s, unexpectedly reversing the persistent pattern of outmigration or stagnation in such areas over most of this century. Along with rapid population growth, socio-economic conditions in many rural communities have improved substantially. While there has been extensive documentation of the population change, little is known about the impact of the new emigrants on nonmetropolitan areas. This research was designed, therefore, to explore the role of the newcomers in developing the rural economy, and especially to analyze the resources the migrants bring with them: their skills, education, background, and business and financial resources. Comprehending the migrants' economic capacity is critical in understanding the development of nonmetropolitan economies, because the benefits derived from population growth have not offset many problems intrinsic to the communities. Unemployment is generally higher in rural areas than in urban; adequate quality jobs are not available to match the needs and qualifications of many workers; new techniques in lumber, agriculture, and manufacturing industries will continue to displace many workers; and the new population is causing a rise in property values and in the overall cost of living, aggravating the conditions of many rural poor. It may be that the comparative affluence of the immigrants will add to the problems of lower income groups living in rural areas.

In California, nonmetropolitan areas are among the fastest growing in the nation, with many counties experiencing growth of 50 percent or more between 1970-1979. Overall the nonmetropolitan counties* of California experienced population increases at a rate of three times that of urban areas, bringing 426,167 migrants to California's 34 rural counties between 1970-1979. Little research has contributed to the understanding of these migrants, however, and in spite of the substantial migration pattern little is known about how they fit into the rural economy. We do know that there is some economic diversity among the newcomers. We surmise that some are retired and bring pensions and social security incomes. Others, we know, are young persons seeking countercultural life styles while still others are independent professionals seeking work and life style flexibility. In addition, business expansion into rural areas has caused the relocation of some high level employees. Finally, many nonmetropolitan firms or governments actively recruit professionals and others who possess special skills not otherwise available in rural labor pools. Clearly the growing population itself creates opportunities for small business ventures. In sum, because of the heterogeneity of the new rural population structure, there is little coherent public policy to meet the challenges and opportunities of the new growth.

Newcomers can be both an asset and a liability for economic development purposes, depending on the development objective being pursued and the way they affect local business and employment opportunities. They may be an asset in terms of contributing total human resources to the local economy, by bringing financial resources and experience with them, and by adding to the consumer markets in terms of new housing construction, business expansion, and overall local growth. On the other hand, they may become a liability to rural communities by competing with locals for scarce jobs, by increasing welfare and assistance loads, or by creating business expectations and conditions not compatible with the skills and resources of existing workers.

In this study we aimed to explore the way the newcomers have fit into their new rural economic base. To this end we selected a variety of small community types to assess the widest range of observable migration patterns. California provides perhaps the greatest range of small community types availabe in the nation. Within California there are rural towns with a single crop economy; however, there are also wealthy desert communities, like Palm Springs, with little agriculture and enormous financial resources. This diversity reflects the people living in and moving to these communities. As we pointed out in our recent book, *Rural Communities in Advanced Industrial Society* (1979), long-term residents as well as newcomers living in rural California are more highly educated, more financially independent, suffer fewer debilitating health and social problems, and have more opportunities for economic development than people in lagging rural economies, such as those still dominating much of the Midwest and South. Clearly, improved human resources must influence community capacity, yet their total contribution remains unknown.

Social and Economic Change in Rural California

Rural economic and social development in California underwent crucial changes in the 1970s due to an un-

*In this report *rural* and *nonmetropolitan* will be used interchangeably, even though not all nonmetropolitan areas are truly rural and not all rural areas are in nonmetropolitan counties. Generally, by rural we mean cities of less than 25,000 persons, not adjacent to major urban centers. The essence of rurality is low population density and substantial distance to major urban centers (see Bradshaw and Blakely, 1979:7-8, 23-28).

precedented revival of growth in areas outside the existing Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA's) and in the semi-rural areas within large counties with metropolitan status like San Bernadino, Riverside, and Fresno. These population increases parallel national trends, even though California's rural and agricultural areas did not suffer the great outflow of persons that was experienced by small towns in New England, the Midwest, and the South. When California became the nation's most urban population in 1950, with over 90 percent of its population in SMSA's, rural areas maintained their population totals.

It was generally assumed that California's largest urban areas around Los Angeles, San Diego and the San Francisco Bay would continue their virtual monopoly on growth. However, as Alvin Sokolow (1977) shows, this urban growth ended: since 1970, rural areas have grown three times as fast as urban areas. This growth was quite unexpected by population forecasters (Kiplinger Editors, 1971). Twenty-four of the state's thirty-four rural counties exceeded projected population growth rates by January 1979 (California Department of Finance, 1979) by over 10 percent, while only two urban counties exceeded projections; only one rural county failed by 10 percent or more to meet a projected increase, while six urban counties fell below by that amount. These data indicate both a significant new locus of population growth and a major escalation in economic expectations for rural areas. For example, ten years ago few policy makers felt that the issues facing rural California in the coming decade would be population growth and the attendant problems of traffic control, crime, pollution, and race relations — problems that "belonged" to the cities and suburbs.

The population change has been truly startling in many of California's small counties and their labor markets. Census estimates indicate that from 1970 to 1979 almost 500,000 persons have moved into California's 34 rural counties, an increase of 29 percent compared to an urban growth rate of only 11 percent (see table 1). Little is known about how this population has been absorbed or the role newcomers play in the local economy. A casual drive through rural California indicates that most of its economy is growing, and in some areas even booming. Home and business construction is evident in most incorporated and unincorporated communities outside the big cities. Only a few lumber mill communities in the northeast and northwest areas of the state and a few farming villages in the Central Valley continue to show population declines. Rural policy makers are for the first time in several decades genuinely optimistic about the future of their communities. Yet they are now equally concerned with growth straining the capacity of their public works and schools as well as the delicate political and social fabric. It would seem that many of the goals of rural economic development are being realized: jobs are being added, new industry is settling in and older businesses are expanding. This growth is beneficial to most rural residents, but not to all of them. Those whose skills fail to match those required by the new industries remain left out, and some forms of racial and class discrimination persist in many small towns.

Reasons for State Interest in Rural Growth

There are at least two reasons that policy makers should be interested in the new growth of both business and population in rural counties. First, the economic growth of rural California in recent years cannot be fully attributed to successful programs of governmental rural development efforts. It has been accomplished largely without regard to national, state and local policies intended to achieve such growth; it is more or less the unanticipated consequence of other economic and social changes. We believe that understanding the dynamics of what is occurring will provide important lessons for the stimulation of economic growth and the basis for leverages that can be applied in communities that are lagging or suffering new problems.

Second, the rapid population and economic growth of rural areas calls into question many existing policies for economic development. We believe that the new growth is bringing rural areas into the forefront of social and economic change in our modern, high-technology, "advanced industrial" society, and that public policies designed as support structures for turn-of-the-century rural industries need to be reviewed in light of emerging economic realities and changing opportunities. It is important for new mechanisms to be designed to assist individuals to take advantage of these changing conditions.

Migrants and the Changing Rural Economy

In our recent book, *Rural Communities in Advanced Industrial Society* (1979), we articulated some of the changes occurring in rural economies. Rural economies are emerging that show characteristics of what have been described as "post-industrial," "technocratic," "new wave," or, as we prefer to call them, "advanced industrial" societies (see table 2). The characteristics of this new economic structure include shifts from resource-based to technology-based industrial products, from manufacturing and farming to service industries, from skills developed largely during entry-level work to

Table 1. California Nonmetropolitan Population Change

Nonmetropolitan Counties[1]	*1970 Population*[2]	*1979 Population*[3]	*Population Growth 1970-1979*	*Rate of Growth (%)*
Alpine	484	1,160	676	140
Amador	11,821	18,500	6,679	56
Butte	101,969	133,500	31,531	31
Calaveras	13,585	19,450	5,865	43
Colusa	12,430	13,000	570	4
Del Norte	14,580	17,250	2,670	18
El Dorado	43,833	79,000	35,167	80
Glenn	17,521	20,750	3,229	18
Humboldt	99,692	106,800	7,108	7
Imperial	74,492	90,900	16,408	22
Inyo	15,571	18,200	2,629	17
Kings	64,610	71,000	6,390	10
Lake	19,548	33,000	13,452	69
Lassen	14,960	20,550	5,590	37
Madera	41,519	54,700	13,181	32
Mariposa	6,015	10,650	4,635	77
Mendocino	51,101	64,400	13,299	26
Merced	104,629	126,400	21,771	21
Modoc	7,469	8,775	1,306	17
Mono	4,016	8,550	4,534	113
Nevada	26,346	46,300	19,954	76
Plumas	11,707	16,200	4,493	38
San Benito	18,226	21,550	3,324	18
San Luis Obispo	105,690	142,900	37,210	35
Santa Cruz	123,790	175,500	51,710	42
Shasta	77,640	111,600	33,960	44
Sierra	2,365	3,410	1,045	44
Siskiyou	33,225	38,750	5,525	17
Sutter	41,935	49,500	7,565	18
Tehama	29,517	36,300	6,783	23
Trinity	7,615	11,950	4,335	57
Tulare	188,322	227,500	39,178	21
Tuolumne	22,169	33,600	[illegible],431	52
Yuba	44,736	47,700	2,964	7
Nonmetropolitan Counties (total)	1,453,128	1,879,295	426,167	29
Metroplitan Counties (total)	18,500,006	20,591,705	2,091,699	11
California	19,953,134	22,471,000	2,517,866	13
United States[4]	203,849,000	221,200,000	17,451,000	8

[1]None of these counties were in SMSA's in 1970 or in 1979 except for Santa Cruz County, which became part of an SMSA in 1979.

[2]As of April 1, 1970. U. S. Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of the Population, General Population Characteristics, California.* PC(1)-B6. (Washington, D. C. 1971).

[3]As of January 1979. California De[illegible]rtment of Finance, Population Research Unit, *Population Estimates of California Cities and Counties, January 1, 1978 and January 1, 1979.* Report 79 E-1. (Sacramento, California, 1979).

[4]As of January 1, 1970. U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports* Series, p. 25.

Table 2. Characteristics of the Industrial Society, the Advanced Industrial Society, and Rural Areas of the Advanced Industrial Society[1]

Characteristic	*Industrial Society*	*Advanced Industrial*	*Rural Advanced Industrial*
technology	high energy-consuming machinery substituted for human labor	knowledge-intensive technologies substituted for bulky machinery	knowledge-intensive agriculture in a highly integrated food industry; movement of electronics and other high-technology plants to the rural area
services	services introduced to the marketplace; growth of transportation, utilities, communication, and trade	professionalized and extensive network providing specialized services	specialized agricultural service, expanded tourism, and wider distribution of professional and welfare services
knowledge	development of literacy and mass primary schooling	nearly universal higher education and extensive institutionalized research network	better distribution of educational opportunities; research taking place on farms; new educational structures outside of schools; new atmosphere of need for and interest in education
relationships	traditional relations replaced by rationalism and secular concerns	high degree of interdependence and complexity demanding planning and coordination	rural towns integrated into regional networks; media-created awareness of outside developments; emergence of regional governmental systems

[1]*Source:* Bradshaw and Blakely, 1979:14.

life-long learning, and from specialization to integration as the major problem for government and economic developers of a highly interdependent system. California's changing economy represents the best case of this form of development. For example, growth of employment in the high-technology sector in California has produced in excess of 70 percent employment in service industries, with professional employment the fastest growing component. This has spawned a need for continuing and ongoing training programs in a wide variety of industries, and it has required new linkages among various government, education, and private resources, in order to produce economic development programs.

We argued that by stimulating these changes, the new migrants to California's growing rural areas are a crucial element. These newcomers are contributing to the new vitality of rural areas by bringing with them skills and resources that facilitate and/or create socioeconomic change. Thus, it is the human resource component that is transforming rural California. The growth of previously declining rural areas was first identified by Calvin Beale (1975) and others in the early 1970s. Since Beale's early work, other scholarly research has aimed to "identify the dynamics of the new migration movement" (Ploch, 1978:294). These dynamics, however, are complex. Among the important factors are the following:

1. There are increasing numbers of affluent, active retirees who prefer both the quality of living and the lower cost of rural areas (Beale, 1978; Voss and Fuguitt, 1979; Blakely et al., 1978). Much of the growth in northern Wisconsin and Minnesota and Michigan is due to the migration of retired persons (Voss and Fuguitt, 1979).

2. The quality of rural living is an essential lure, as identified by Zuiches (1970) and others who have shown that most Americans prefer to live in rural or small town locations, although they do not want to be too far from the city (Fuguitt and Zuiches, 1975). As Morrison and Wheeler (1976) point out, the difference between this lure and that for earlier generations is that more people who desire rural locations are able to sustain themselves in those communities.

3. This has been made possible by the development of knowledge-intensive, high-technology industries such as the computer, electronics, or optics industries, which are not raw material- or assembly-intensive and which do not require large amounts of energy or create pollution. These "clean" industries are both the fastest-growing sectors of the economy and the most portable to rural locations (Petrulis, 1979; Lonsdale and Seyler, 1979:186; Wrigley, 1973:59).

4. Moreover, the rising affluence and mobility of the American professional labor force is stimulating more persons to select locations that value life style over transportation and urban amenities (Bradshaw and Blakely, 1978; Morrison and Wheeler, 1976; Bowles, 1978; Patton and Stabler, 1979).

5. There has also been a dramatic improvement in rural education, social welfare, and public services, which now provide in a rural setting many of the advantages once restricted to urban areas. In this case migrants make few significant public or private sacrifices to live in a less congested and more pleasant place (Bradshaw and Blakely, 1979). These factors, along with improved telecommunications, highways, and air transporation systems, make rural settings extremely attractive for existing residents to remain and for urbanites to migrate to them.

The Research Design

The research results reported here were derived from studies undertaken to learn more about typical migrants and their patterns of migration. Since there were different types of migration, we needed to identify an area in the state where a variety was present, so as to limit our travel. Similarly, we needed to identify nonmetropolitan communities whose growth patterns resembled those of the state and nation, so that our results would be generalizable. Several northern California counties offered this range of migratory type, and were selected in order to illustrate the diversity of types of rural growth, rather than as a random sample of communities.

In selecting the communities we built upon our previous research on rural California and chose five small communities having rapid population growth over the last ten years. Our previous research and observations suggested a typology of five rural growth communities: (1) retirement communities, (2) university/professional communities, (3) government and public service communities, (4) tourist communities, and (5) counterculture communities. We reasoned that any attempt to depict the entire new migrant population of a single county or state would mask the detailed characteristics of various community types and reduce the policy relevance of our research. In sum, our research design called for the selection of several growth communities where there was a preponderance of each type of specialized growth. In-person questionnaires were administered to nearly 500 newcomers and 100 long-term residents in these places, to determine the particular characteristics of migrants as they related to community type.

Communities sampled. The initial selection included communities in Butte and Mendocino counties. In Butte the town of Paradise was selected as representative of a retirement community because it has grown very rapidly over the last fifteen years, partly as a result of television advertising in Los Angeles. Oroville, the county seat of Butte county, was selected for being a government center. In the same county, Chico, with its campus of the State College and University System, provided an excellent example of the rapid growth of a college and professional service community for an entire region. Mendocino county was also selected for its well-known artistic, counterculture and tourist communities. The town of Mendocino and neighboring coastal communities such as Casper and Little River reflect a tourist-artist-type community, while the small towns of Comptche, Boonville, Philo, Covelo, and several unincorporated areas were selected as counterculture-dominated areas.

Early results from our interviews suggested that we were mistaken in our selection of the communities. Oroville was not as much of a government center as we had anticipated. Many government employees working in that community in fact lived in Chico (about 30 miles north), and, with recent declining employment in government since Proposition 13 (June 1978), newcomers were not likely to be employed in government. In addition, the town of Oroville was still affected by the declining demand for construction workers who had worked on the Oroville Dam and who left upon its completion, selling their houses to retired persons. As a result of this poor fit between our typology and the results, we gathered additional data in Yuba City, the county seat of Sutter County. Yuba City has experienced considerable population growth in the past fifteen years and had a much higher government dominance factor. It was substituted for Oroville to complete the interview schedule and meet the typology standards.

Sample population. Interviews were conducted with a nearly random sample totaling about one hundred newcomers in each of the five areas (except Oroville, with only 50). We defined newcomers, for the purposes of this study, as persons who had been in the particular county for between one and five years, thus excluding persons who had just arrived and would most likely be transient. Five years was an arbitrary cutoff point. A total of 533 questionnaires was obtained by trained interviewers during late 1979 and early 1980.

Using maps of each area, streets were listed and selected randomly. (Long streets were divided into sev-

eral segments.) On each street, interviewers were provided with a random starting place and called on houses until they located a newcomer. If a household did not qualify, the interviewer asked the respondent if he/she knew of any newcomers on the street. These references were then pursued. Quotas of between two and four completed interviews were set for each street depending on the number of houses on the street or street segment, and new streets were used until the total quota of interviews was obtained. Each interview took about 20 minutes. Interviewees were queried about their reasons for moving to the county, their personal background, their employment experiences in the community, and their use of community services. An overall cooperation rate of over 95 percent was achieved.

As with most quota sample designs, ours is not completely random. The strategy was carefully designed to eliminate systematic sources of bias that might influence the reliability of the results within the resources available for the research effort. In our various communities we estimated that, based on previous research in the area (Blakely et al., 1978) and unpublished census reports, about 20 percent of the residents fell within our one-to-five-year requirement. The research strategy was designed to minimize the number of calls interviewers had to make in order to identify a new-

comer. On each sample street we anticipated that people who did not qualify for the survey would be able to assist in locating newcomers and that this would provide for more efficient interviewing. The biases that might be introduced within this scheme are that the identified or referenced newcomer would be potentially more outgoing and successful than nonreferenced newcomers, or more like the person referring them than might be found otherwise. However, these biases are slight because the person giving the reference was selected randomly as the starting point on the particular street, and there was a further maximum limit of between two and four interviews on each street, to avoid too much reference bias. As a practical matter, in the majority of instances the interviewer had to call on or learn about most of the residents on the street in order to fill the quota for that street.

A variation of this strategy was adopted for the counterculture areas of the Mendocino mountain communities. Most of the newcomers in these locations did not live on an identifiable road or street, but were scattered throughout the mountain areas surrounding the particular town. The best way to interview these persons was to specify several discrete geographic locations and have the interviewer initiate reference chains to identify newcomers. We were fortunate in having very experienced interviewers, familiar with the need to maintain sample quality by not over-interviewing in a single area or introducing other forms of bias..

Comparative data: The long-term resident. One of our predictions was that the newcomers were significantly different than the long-term residents of rural communities experiencing growth. While comparisons to published statistics substantiate some of these expected differences, we felt the need to collect better data on the long-term resident in order to specify how newcomers were bringing different expectations into a community. In the latter half of our interviewing process we included in our sample about 20 long-termers from each of the five communities (excluding Oroville). The interviewers were instructed to interview the first one or two persons they contacted on each street (depending on its length) who had been a community resident for more than 15 years. A total of 106 long-termer interviews was obtained. An adapted questionnaire was used, with most questions reworded to reflect the respondents' longer residence in the county. It should be pointed out that these respondents are not representative of the total county population that had resided 15 years or more, but they are a fairly random sample of long-term residents living in the growing sections of the county where our newcomers were congregating.

Survey Findings

Rural growth is only meaningful in terms of economic development and employment if the migrants represent something new, different, or startling in relation to the past or prospects for the future. For example, if the migrants simply represent a reversal of the farm-to-city movement because factory jobs are relocating to cheaper, rural land, then existing economic development strategies would be quite adequate. If, on the other hand, this shift in population cannot be accounted for by an improvement in wages or relocation of industry, then a truly new condition has arisen and requires a new policy response.

The basic theme emerging from the research is that the rural migrant in California represents something substantially new to the state and to the nation's traditional economic thinking. These migrants, rather than being attracted by new economic and employment opportunities, are a primary source for the creation of jobs and a new type of economic growth. The following data substantiate this point.

Present and Prior Residence

The newcomers surveyed had been in the new rural county an average of 2.8 years. The majority of the respondents had been in the same community for that length of time. Only 11 percent were previous long-term residents of the community (e.g., children who moved away and then returned). In addition, 53 percent of the newcomers moved to the rural communities from either the San Francisco Bay Area or Southern California's urban centers. Interestingly, 13 percent were from Sacramento Valley counties and 10 percent were from other mountain rural counties. The remaining 24 percent came from out of state and moved directly to California's rural communities. For most migrants the decision to move to their new community was not made through frequent visits to the county, leading to a decision to migrate, but came after visiting only once in a while or a few times a year at most (30 percent reported never visiting before moving). A third of the sample had relatives living in the county, however, confirming in part one common theme of migration research — that people follow their relatives in migration streams (Greenwood, 1975).

Employment Status

In terms of the factors leading to migration and the involvement of the newcomer in the labor market after

arrival, there are three categories of migrants: retirees, unemployed, and employed. The retired person accounts for varying parts of the migratory stream in different parts of the nation. In northern Wisconsin, Michigan, and Minnesota, the migration is almost entirely composed of retirees, while in other parts of the country such as New England, retired migrants are fewer in number. The unemployed category is also important to our analysis, and it includes unemployed, discouraged, and temporarily laid-off workers (whom we call "unemployed" for short). The proportion of respondents in each of these categories is shown in table 3.

Just under 30 percent of the newcomers are male heads of households with only one family income. An additional 13 percent are female heads of households with a single income. In rural California, as in the rest of our society, the two-income family is almost as common as the single-income, male-headed family: among newcomers, over 20 percent report a double income. In addition to these patterns of employment, the newcomers average a 7.3 percent "unemployment" rate. Over a quarter of the sample are retired persons. Included in the retired category are a number of people out of the labor force for other reasons: unable to work because of health (0.9 percent), disabled (2.3 percent), not working by choice (5.3 percent), and never worked for pay (0.4 percent). Table 3 also shows that the majority of the employed persons are below sixty years of age, confirming that few migrants are working in new rural jobs after an early retirement. Spouse unemployment for families with a primary breadwinner is only 5.7 percent (data not shown in table), reflecting good two-income opportunities.

The labor force participation rates vary greatly from one community to another. In Paradise, the retirement community, over half (56 percent) of its newcomers are retired, whereas in most other areas the retired account for less than 20 percent of the migrants. Chico, the college community, has the greatest number of female heads of households (22 percent), followed closely by the Mendocino communities. Yuba City has the greatest concentration of two-income families, with over 30 percent of the newcomers reporting two jobs. Unemployment (or layoff and discouragement) is highest in the Mendocino mountains (12 percent) and lowest in Chico (4.2 percent) and Paradise (4.0 percent).

The Migration Decision

Traditional migration theory holds that "movers" shift from low wage to higher wage areas (Greenwood, 1975): the mover either knows or believes that his or her economic opportunities are likely to improve with the transfer. Clearly, there are inhibiting factors involved in the choice to relocate, such as the psychological cost in being uprooted from one environment and moving to another one. The migrant must therefore have some idealized vision of the new setting — a vision promising desired qualities that will promote an attractive life style and attain personal goals. Our survey results contradict the traditional analysis of migration, however, giving primary weight to the ideal atmosphere and lesser weight to economic factors.

The newcomers in our sample indicated that simplicity of life and rural atmosphere were much more alluring than job prospects in making the decision to move. Table 4 shows these data. Among the working newcomers, 43 percent said that job prospects were either extremely favorable or somewhat favorable fac-

Table 3. Employment Types[1]

	Male Only Employed	*Employed— Less Than 60 Years Old: Two Spouses Employed*	*Female Only Employed*	*Employed— More Than 60 Years Old*	*Retired*	*Looking for Work*	*N*
Newcomers (Total)	29.6%	20.8%	12.9%	2.3%	25.3%	7.3%	(533)
Yuba City	34.4	30.0	5.6	1.1	16.7	6.7	(90)
Chico	30.5	22.1	22.1	1.1	16.8	4.2	(95)
Oroville	26.0	18.0	6.0	5.0	36.0	10.0	(50)
Paradise	19.2	12.1	2.0	6.1	55.6	4.0	(99)
Mendocino Town	35.0	22.0	18.0	0	17.0	8.0	(100)
Mendocino Mountains	31.3	20.2	20.2	2.0	14.1	12.1	(99)
Long-term Residents	26.5	19.6	14.7	8.8	26.5	3.9	(106)

[1]Total percentages not summing to 100.0 are due to missing data or rounding error in this and all following tables.

Table 4. Percent Indicating Each Factor Important to Their Decision to Move[1]

	Job Prospects	*New Job or Business*	*Family or Friends in Area*	*Simplicity of Life*	*Rural Atmosphere*	*N*
Employed Newcomers						
(Total)	42.9	45.4	49.5	72.1	82.2	(359)
Yuba City	58.0	52.2	47.8	58.0	72.5	(69)
Chico	52.0	52.0	57.3	68.0	74.7	(75)
Oroville	44.4	63.0	44.4	63.0	81.5	(27)
Paradise	35.0	42.5	47.5	72.5	75.0	(40)
Mendocino Town	34.7	34.7	57.3	81 3	94.7	(75)
Mendocino Mountains	31.5	38.4	38.4	83.6	90.4	(73)
Retired Newcomers	6.7	11.1	59.3	80.7	86.7	(135)
Unemployed and Other Newcomers	23.1	30.8	59.0	79.5	82.1	(39)
Employed Long-term Residents	36.6	39.4	83.1	76.1	91.5	(71)
Retired and Other Long-term Residents	22.9	34.3	91.4	77.1	74.3	(35)

[1] Long-term residents responded in terms of the importance of each factor to their overall evaluation of their community.

tors influencing their decision to move, but almost twice that many felt that rural atmosphere was an important factor. Fully 18 percent reported that job prospects were unfavorable, but that they moved anyway. Needless to say, the unemployed did not evaluate job prospects as favorably as did the employed, although their subsequent experiences may have colored their reports. For the most part, the retired answered that job prospects were not a consideration.

On the other hand, the data clearly show the attraction of rural life styles. The communities in table 4 are ranked more or less by degree of remoteness and size, with Yuba City being the most urban and the small Mendocino mountain communities the most remote. As the data show, the employment attraction was highest in Yuba City and Chico, with their government and professional service economies, and lowest in Mendocino County, where fewer economic bases existed. The attractions of rural atmosphere and simplicity of life showed approximately the reverse of this pattern.

In their evaluations, the newcomers were not that different from the long-term residents. The latter were offered the same options for assessing their community, and the results showed that they shared a similar perspective with the newcomers about jobs and rural atmosphere. However, they valued their friends and family in the area much more highly than did newcomers.

Educational Level

Migrants are often risk takers who are slightly more resourceful and frequently better educated than their peers both in the community from which they migrated and in the place they settle (Greenwood, 1975). Thus, in a sense, the migrants represent a "brain drain" on their original communities and a net addition in terms of skills to the place they select for settlement. Clearly, this pattern is unexpected for rural areas simply because for at least four decades migration has been *from* rural areas, leaving a less able and more dependent population behind. The reversal of this trend may seem inconceivable to educated urbanites for reasons such as the lack of cultural amenities and the lower value placed on education by a traditional, poorly educated, rural population.

Yet in spite of these perceived deficiencies, our data indicate that rural areas are gaining educated migrants. Over three-quarters have been to college, and 15 percent have advanced Masters or Doctorate degrees. The variation between communities on this issue is not large, except for the prevalence of people with advanced degrees in the Mendocino Town area. While many of these high-credential people have dropped out and are now doing art work or other activi-

Table 5. Education Level

	Less Than High School	*High School Graduate*	*College Through B.A.*	*Advanced Degree M.A. or Ph.D.*	*N*
Employed Newcomers (Total)	5.6	17.5	60.2	15.3	(359)
Yuba City	11.6	17.4	52.2	15.9	(69)
Chico	1.3	18.7	66.7	12.0	(75)
Oroville	3.7	29.6	55.6	11.1	(27)
Paradise	5.0	20.0	62.5	12.5	(40)
Mendocino Town	6.7	8.0	56.0	28.0	(75)
Mendocino Mountains	4.1	20.5	65.8	8.2	(73)
Retired Newcomers	28.1	25.2	40.7	3.7	(135)
Unemployed and Other Newcomers	20.5	23.1	53.8	2.6	(39)
Employed Long-term Residents	11.3	15.5	56.3	15.5	(71)
Retired and Other Long-term Residents	40.0	14.3	34.3	8.6	(35)

ties, many are pursuing professional careers (e.g., as writers) in jobs that do not require an urban location. Compared to the retired and unemployed, the working newcomers are well educated, indeed. The lower education of the retired probably reflects the greater difficulty of getting a college education prior to World War II, when most of this sector was being trained for work. And — as would be expected — the lower educational achievement of the unemployed parallels their greater difficulty in finding stable employment.

One of the big surprises of the survey was that so little difference was evidenced between the long-term residents and newcomers with respect to education. For all practical purposes, they are as well educated as the newcomers, contradicting virtually all previous studies of rural migration. This may be due to several factors. First, our sample was drawn heavily from the most rapid-growth areas. These areas have undoubtedly attracted well qualified people at least for the last decade or more. For example, the big growth in Chico State University came during the early 1960s and some long-term residents surely could have been part of that growth. Secondly, these people frequently moved from another community in the same county to the newest areas, and these are precisely the communities we tended to target for our interview samples.

Employment Opportunities

The type of employment available is clearly an important consideration in whether the new migrants are a resource or not. In essence, jobs should match the skills of the available work force. In our advanced- or post-industrial society, the unskilled or semi-skilled employment characteristic of rural places has been diminishing. Farm mechanization has contributed to the demise of low skilled employment. Yet even if higher paying and higher skilled work were available in rural settings, it is reasonable to argue that there would still be an undersupply of labor. There are features of agricultural labor that remain unpopular no matter how they are arranged. Further, rural labor settings have long been viewed as socially unattractive. Earlier, we dealt with this issue regarding the quality of rural life in general but the quality of rural work life has not been discussed. It is apparent from the data in this report and from earlier research that the transformation of rural areas into more livable communities has not affected agriculture directly. But it has influenced the character and variety of other industrial/commercial opportunities: the quality of employment in rural areas has been enhanced due to better living conditions and a better work force.

The data indicate that the migrant's skills witnessed by college and post-graduate degrees are reflected in his or her employment opportunities as well. Professional services are the single largest category of industrial employment among the newcomers, with nearly a quarter (23 percent) of all employed persons in these types of jobs. Chico is clearly the dominant professional service community, with 36 percent of its newcomers fitting into the professional industries. Interestingly, Mendocino Town is not known for its pro-

Table 6. Employment: Industry

	Extract.	*Constr.*	*Manuf.*	*Transp.*	*Util.*	*Trade*	*F.I.R.E.*[1]	*Service*	*Prof.*	*Govt.*	*N*
Employed Newcomers (Total)	8.1	10.3	11.1	2.5	2.8	16.2	4.2	9.2	23.1	8.4	(359)
Yuba City	8.7	5.8	8.7	2.9	2.9	7.2	1.4	2.9	23.2	27.5	(69)
Chico	2.7	8.0	8.0	2.7	4.0	14.7	5.3	10.7	36.0	5.3	(75)
Oroville	3.7	11.1	0	7.4	11.1	14.8	3.7	14.8	22.2	11.1	(27)
Paradise	7.5	12.5	15.0	0	2.5	10.0	12.5	10.0	17.5	2.5	(40)
Mendocino Town	8.0	12.0	17.3	0	1.3	20.0	1.3	8.0	29.3	1.3	(75)
Mendocino Mountains	15.1	13.7	12.3	4.1	0	26.0	4.1	12.3	6.8	2.7	(73)
Retired Newcomers (Previous Employment)	4.4	4.4	10.4	7.4	1.5	23.0	2.2	9.6	10.4	10.4	(135)
Employed Long-term Residents	11.3	5.6	5.6	1.4	1.4	19.7	4.2	8.5	32.4	8.5	(71)
Retired and Other Long-term Residents	5.7	2.9	5.7	2.9	0	25.7	2.9	2.9	14.3	8.6	(35)

[1]Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate

fessional services to outlying regions but represents another trend of great significance: because of the attractiveness of that area, newcomers include many who can take their professional work with them — writers, designers, inventors, and even computer programmers, who can keep in touch with their work by phone lines. There is, however, a limit to the degree to which professional workers can be isolated from some form of larger community.

Government service is the source of employment for less than 10 percent of the total number of persons we interviewed, with the largest number of these in the Yuba City area. This is a county seat in an area that has seen a rapid professionalization of its governmental structure, and, like many county seats, this has necessitated hiring people from urban areas (Blakely et al., 1978). Some military employment at the nearby Beale Air Force Base is also represented here. Although the growth of government is clearly responsible for some migration to rural areas, this is not the major factor in most places.

Overall, the service sector (non-goods-producing industries) includes 66.4 percent of the newcomers included in our selected locations. This matches very closely the 68 percent service figure we previously reported for California in 1976 (Bradshaw and Blakely,

Table 7. Employment: Occupation

	Managers	*Prof. and Semi-prof.*	*Artists*	*Technicians*	*Sales*	*Clerical*	*Personal Services*	*Service*	*Farm*
Employed Newcomers (Total)	9.7	13.9	4.5	4.2	10.6	7.8	1.1	10.7	6.4
Yuba City	18.8	11.6	0	4.3	7.2	7.2	0	8.7	7.2
Chico	9.3	18.7	0	4.0	6.7	13.3	0	12.0	1.3
Oroville	11.1	18.5	0	3.7	11.1	11.1	3.7	7.4	7.4
Paradise	5.0	15.0	0	10.0	22.5	5.0	2.5	2.5	0
Mendocino Town	5.3	20.0	14.7	4.0	10.7	6.7	0	10.7	9.3
Mendocino Mountains	6.8	2.7	6.8	1.4	11.0	4.1	2.7	17.8	11.0
Retired Newcomers	16.3	4.4	1.5	3.7	5.9	11.9	.7	5.9	2.2
Unemployed and Other Newcomers	0	5.1	0	0	5.1	7.7	0	5.1	15.4
Employed Long-term Residents	15.5	14.1	1.4	4.2	4.2	7.0	1.4	15.5	11.3
Retired and Other Long-term Residents	14.3	5.7	0	2.9	14.3	2.0	0	11.4	8.6

1979:55), although it falls considerably short of the 93 percent figure we report for new jobs. However, within service sector employment there is considerably greater professional employment in the present sample. Several surprises emerge from these data. For example, there is relatively high employment of newcomers in trade in the Mendocino mountain areas, which are relatively sparsely populated. The large proportion of persons working in finance, insurance, and real estate in Paradise makes sense in that the large retired population requires these services along with various professional services related to health needs.

The remainder of the employed persons in both counties work in either farming, construction or manufacturing. Except in the Mendocino mountains, where there is a substantial amount of subsistence as well as marijuana farming, few of the migrants to these rural communities produce edible cash crops. Most who work in farm operations are offering specialized farm services such as crop dusting or irrigation consulting. A few do specialized farming (wine making, for example) but the new migrants on the whole do not get involved in farming as such.

In growth communities the rapid need for homes and businesses necessarily created many opportunities for employment in construction. For the most part the newcomers' construction employment is with small residential and commercial firms, rather than large road or specialized project construction. The same pattern dominates manufacturing, which employs just over 11 percent of the newcomers. Most of these jobs are in small firms doing specialized production in electronics, for example, or in Mendocino Town (where this type of employment is highest) producing various artistic goods. There is a distinct lack of large- or medium-sized manufacturing employment, although such firms do exist in most of the areas.

The employed newcomers have found work near home for the most part. The majority (54 percent) report working in their local community, and an additional 17 percent work from their homes. At the other extreme, we discovered that 8 percent work outside of the county, including some who commute weekly to the Bay Area. The remainder are employed in the nearest town (3 percent) or at a distance greater than 20 miles (4 percent). The proximity to home is reassuring to those concerned about energy use for commuting in rural areas. Furthermore, our data show that these newcomers are in relatively new places of employment; firms in existence for five years or less were indicated by 40 percent of the employed newcomers. However, just under half (48 percent) are employed in businesses with more than one location — 30 percent in businesses with another location outside the community. Thus many of the workers are tied into franchise operations and branch companies of various sorts.

The contrast between the newcomers and long-term residents was different from our expectation. For instance, 32 percent of long-termers are employed in professional service industries, exceeding the newcomers by 9 percentage points. We had expected much lower professional employment among this group in keeping with previous census estimates showing that they were more likely to be involved in "extractive" farming industries, as opposed to the newcomers' involvement in service industries.

Employment by Occupation

In table 7 data on the occupations of the newcomers are shown. As expected, managerial employment was concentrated in Yuba City, and professionals worked mostly in Mendocino Town, Chico (and Oroville). Sales work was more heavily concentrated in Paradise, while Chico had more clerical workers. It is clear from table 7 that the manufacturing business in Mendocino Town, noted above, is not routine assembly work. Only 2.7 percent of the respondents from that community are production workers, whereas 17 percent are involved in manufacturing; 15 percent of that same community newcomer work force lists "artist" as an occupation.

None of the newcomers are laborers, the lowest skill category of workers. Among the unemployed, however, 13 percent report that the job they are looking for is labor. Clearly, opportunities for this category are severely limited in these rural areas.

Constr.	*Drivers*	*Mech.*	*Product.*	*Labor*	*Military*	*N*
9.5	3.3	5.3	8.1	0	1.7	(359)
2.9	7.2	4.3	7.2	0	7.2	(69)
6.7	4.0	8.0	12.0	0	1.3	(75)
11.1	3.7	7.4	3.7	0	0	(27)
15.0	0	5.0	7.5	0	0	(40)
12.0	0	4.0	2.7	0	0	(75)
12.3	4.1	4.1	12.3	0	0	(73)
8.1	3.7	7.4	10.4	2.2	.7	(135)
5.1	2.6	7.7	0	12.8	0	(39)
4.2	0	5.6	8.5	1.4	1.4	(71)
5.7	2.9	2.9	0	5.7	0	(35)

In terms of occupation, the difference between the newcomers and long-term residents is minimal. There are more managers among long-termers, but there are no more professionals or semi-professionals, which in part explains their substantially larger professional industry employment noted in table 7. (The difference probably is in the greater number of service workers among long-term residents. For example, these could be hospital aides.)

Income

The employed newcomers achieved a median family income of between $15,000 and $19,999 within five years of the time they moved to their new community (see table 7). While not as high as the income of long-term residents, it compares well to the median income for the state as a whole, which is $17,889. The most affluent commuity is Yuba City, with its greater proportion of two income families; Mendocino County has markedly lower income levels. This roughly correlates with the remoteness of the Mendocino communities, and represents a tradeoff for these individuals between job and life style.

One striking finding of this research is the overall level of affluence of the retired migrant. While nearly one retiree income in five is below $6,000, the same proportion among the employed earn that little. The median income of retired newcomers (over $12,000) is well above that of retired long-term residents ($9,000), but neither represents a greatly distressed old age group.

Primary source of income. Wages and salaries provide the major source of income for the employed newcomers, although most received over $500 per year from a number of sources such as investments in the county (8.4 percent), investments elsewhere (15 percent), and withdrawals from savings (41.5 percent) (see table 9). The retired, of course, relied on social security and pensions for the majority of their income, although 14.5 percent indicated that investments were the major source of their income. Only 1.1 percent of the employed newcomers reported that public assistance had been their major source of income, although 21 percent of the unemployed indicated that this was the case. Savings were the major source of income for about 1 percent of the sample, suggesting that the dominant pattern of migration to rural California was not wealthy persons living off past earnings.

Moreover, the data indicate that the newcomers to rural counties in California bring with them other financial resources that make possible the establishment of an economic base in rural economies without dependence on public or other financing. For example, when they moved, 61 percent had over $1,000 in savings, 25 percent had over $1,000 in investment income, and 35 percent had money from the sale of a house. These financial resources were often reinvested in rural locations with the net result that the newcomer, simply by moving into an area, contributed a significant amount of outside resources to the local economy.

Table 8. Income

	Below $5,999	*Above $20,000*	*Median (between)*	*N*
Employed Newcomers				
(Total)	18.4	33.1	$15,000 - $19,999	(359)
Yuba City	7.1	59.4	$20,000 - $24,999	(69)
Chico	18.7	26.7	$15,000 - $19,999	(75)
Oroville	0	44.4	$20,000 - $24,999	(27)
Paradise	7.5	45.0	$20,000 - $24,999	(40)
Mendocino Town	26.7	15.9	$10,000 - $10,999	(75)
Mendocino Mountains	32.9	21.9	$10,000 - $10,999	(73)
Retired Newcomers	18.5	15.5	$12,000 - $14,999	(135)
Unemployed and Other Newcomers	43.7	15.5	$ 6,000 - $ 6,999	(39)
Employed Long-term residents	12.6	42.3	$15,000 - $19,999	(71)
Retired and Other Long-term Residents	14.4	14.3	$ 9,000 - $ 9,999	(35)

Table 9. Primary Source of Income

	Work	*Investments*	*Soc. Security, Pensions*	*Public Assistance*	*Savings*	*N*
Employed Newcomers (Total)	86.9	2.2	3.0	1.1	0.8	(359)
Yuba City	87.0	0	4.3	0	0	(69)
Chico	94.7	1.3	0	1.3	0	(75)
Oroville	88.5	0	3.8	0	0	(27)
Paradise	65.0	7.5	7.5	0	2.5	(40)
Mendocino Town	92.0	4.0	0	2.7	0	(75)
Mendocino Mountains	87.5	1.4	5.6	1.4	2.8	(73)
Retired Newcomers	13.0	14.5	61.8	3.1	2.3	(135)
Unemployed and Other Newcomers	64.9	0	8.1	21.6	0	(39)
Employed Long-term Residents	88.7	4.2	5.6	0	0	(71)
Retired and Other Long-term Residents	28.6	17.1	51.4	0	0	(35)

Starting New Businesses

The availability of employment has almost invariably been linked to the existence of business and manufacturing. Virtually all economic development strategies depend on the notion that building businesses or importing them is the means to improved employment resources. Scant literature is available on how people — the human resources themselves — can create businesses rather than becoming dependent on someone else's enterprise. The educational level and income resources of newcomers to areas like the ones we surveyed provide significant human resources for starting new businesses. In addition, tourism, ecology, and government service expansion provide new options and opportunities for small- and medium-sized businesses started and maintained by newcomers to the area.

One of the most significant results of the survey was the large number of newcomers who reported starting a business within the first few years after their arrival in their new community — almost four in ten (39 percent) reported that they had begun businesses. Most of these were primary places of employment as shown in the data in table 10, although another 5 percent were businesses for investments or secondary sources of employment. Failures, which are so common in small business starts, were not evident in our data. Only 2.5 percent of the newcomers reported they had started a business that had failed or they had attempted to start a business but were unable to do so.

Industry of new business. The new businesses ranged from major enterprises such as an irrigation design and construction firm to small antique shops and restaurants. The two most common types of businesses were manufacturing and trade for places of primary employment (with 18 percent and 17 percent respectively in each category). Agricultural service and professional service each accounted for about 10 percent of the new business starts, while the remaining were distributed among other categories. As mentioned above, much of the manufacturing activity was actually artistic or other nontraditional production. Within the new business manufacturing industry, 25 percent of the persons starting a business report being artists; another 15 percent report being professionals such as scientists or engineers, and only 27 percent report being involved mainly in production types of occupations.

How did the newcomers come to start these businesses? Over half reported that they decided to do it after moving to the rural community. They most often did it alone or with their immediate family (69 percent), although 24 percent got into business with other partners. Less than 4 percent were employees of a parent company. Virtually all the small business starters were involved in most phases as planners, financers, managers and employees and almost half were even involved as builders. The most significant reason given for deciding to open a business was that they had "always wanted to operate a business such as this" (29 percent) or that they were "looking for something to do" (14 percent). About a quarter of the business starts, however, were by persons who liked the area and moved

Table 10. Industry of New Businesses Started by Newcomers

	Extract.	*Constr.*	*Manuf.*	*Transport*	*Trade*	*F.I.R.E.*[1]	*Services*	*Prof. Services*	*Other*	*N*
Place of Primary Employment	11.7	5.8	17.5	4.2	16.7	9.2	13.3	9.2	12.5	(120)
Other than Primary Employment	4.2	0	12.5	8.3	29.2	8.3	12.5	4.2	20.8	(24)
Attempted or Closed	0	0	14.3	7.1	14.3	7.1	28.6	0	28.6	(14)

[1]Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate

their business from another area. The discovery of a lucrative market was a stimulus to another 12 percent of the new business owners. Clearly, as these data show, the dominant thrust of the decision to open a new business was not a well-thought-out advance plan but the discovery that starting a business was possible and fit into the rural life style they had chosen. Interestingly, lower taxes and low labor wages were not a factor for more than 2 percent of the businesses. This does not mean that the new businesses began without difficulty. Many mentioned finance and other problems.

Long-term resident business starts. Table 11 shows a great deal of similarity between the newcomers and long-term residents in the proportion starting businesses. However, the question asked of the latter was whether they had *ever* started a business in the county. Since they had resided in the county for a much longer time, we probed to see if the small businesses they started were still a source of primary employment. We discovered that the employment industry of the breadwinner was the same as that of their new business in 57 percent of the cases for the newcomers, but only 36 percent for long-term residents. These data lead us to suspect that there has been an increase in the amount of small business starts by persons who have recently moved into rural California. This in itself is significant since if people have the capacity to develop employment, public efforts should encourage this activity rather than relying on large industrial bases.

Training and Public Services

An important component of traditional employment development efforts has been to emphasize job training and to provide unemployment compensation and other public services to help individuals to improve their jobs or to enter the labor market. In general, we found that the employed newcomers were not heavy users of these

Table 11. Proportion Starting a Business in Rural County

	Primary Employment	*Other Employment*	*Business Closed or Never Opened*	*Never Started a Business*	*N*
Employed Newcomers (Total)	31.5	5.3	2.5	58.2	(359)
Yuba City	14.5	4.3	0	72.5	(69)
Chico	16.0	6.7	2.7	73.3	(75)
Oroville	22.2	14.8	7.4	51.9	(27)
Paradise	35.0	5.0	0	60.0	(40)
Mendocino Town	53.3	4.0	4.0	38.7	(75)
Mendocino Mountains	42.5	2.7	2.7	50.7	(73)
Retired Newcomers	3.0	3.0	1.5	84.4	(135)
Unemployed and Other Newcomers	7.7	2.6	7.7	74.4	(39)
Employed Long-term Residents	32.4	9.9	2.8	45.1	(71)
Retired and Other Long-term Residents	14.3	2.9	8.6	62.9	(35)

services, though the services were used by the unemployed. Job training programs, unemployment compensation, and assistance in job hunting are generally available in rural areas of California, and state policy objectives do not need to cover lack of access to social services as they do for rural areas in many other parts of the country.

In dealing with a migrant population that has left jobs in another area and moved into a relatively different type of economy, it would be expected that many newcomers would feel the need for some additional job related training or course work. About 90 percent of the employed respondents reported that they had either acquired or felt the need to acquire job skills other than those developed elsewhere since coming to their new rural community (see table 12). The vast majority of these persons feeling the need for a course or for special training did not take any courses, however — only 21 percent had actually enrolled. Still, within these first years, the fact that one in five persons enrolled shows considerable access and use of this type of economic development activity. The greatest percentage taking courses was in the Mendocino communities. We think this reflects neither the greater availability of such courses nor greater educational background of the new residents, but the greater awareness that such courses might be helpful in such a rapidly changing economy as is found in that area. In conclusion, while it is a hopeful sign that about one in five migrants to these rural areas has taken a course or some other job training, the difference between the perceived need and the actual enrollment rate indicates that there is still a long way for these programs to go in meeting the real need.

However, if training programs are valuable for improving the fit between job applicants and available positions, they are not very effective in helping unemployed persons. For example, the data show that a full third of all the unemployed persons have taken training programs but have not found steady employment because of it. Those who see the widespread use of training programs as the solution to underemployment would have to admit that these data are more evidence that such strategies are lacking.

Unemployment compensation. The most commonly used public assistance for newcomers was unemployment compensation (see table 13). Even among the presently employed, over a quarter of the respondents have taken advantage of unemployment compensation during their time in rural counties. Among the presently unemployed or discouraged workers, the use of employment benefits rises to over 60 percent, although not all of these are presently collecting benefits. In contrast, employed long-term residents reported even greater use of unemployment than the newcomers. For the most part the newcomers provide a significant economic stimulus to their new communities and have used unemployment temporarily as they make the transition to a permanent occupation.

During their job search about a quarter of the persons who looked for rural employment used state employment agency services, but less than half of those persons reported that these services were successful in leading to a job. Private employment agencies were even less useful than state agencies. On the other hand, the most frequently used means of finding a job was inquiring through friends and acquaintances. Nearly half of those who looked for a job reported using these means, and four out of five reported that this was successful in leading to a job. All in all, the newcomers were of divided opinion about the difficulty of finding a job in their new community, with about half reporting

Table 12. Perceived Need for Job Skills and Training

	Felt Need and Taken Courses	*Need and No Courses*	*No Need, No Courses*	*N*
Employed Newcomers				
(Total)	21.4	67.4	11.1	(359)
Yuba City	18.8	44.9	36.2	(69)
Chico	18.7	70.7	10.7	(75)
Oroville	22.2	77.8	0	(27)
Paradise	10.0	85.0	5.0	(40)
Mendocino Town	26.7	72.0	1.3	(75)
Mendocino Mountains	27.4	67.1	5.5	(73)
Retired Newcomers	3.7	81.5	14.1	(135)
Unemployed and Other Newcomers	33.3	56.4	10.3	(39)

Table 13. Public Services: Use and Attitudes

	Unemployment	*Use Public Medical Serv.*	*Use Welfare*	*Want Better Public Serv.*	*Need More Public Serv.*	*N*
Employed Newcomers						
(Total)	27.9	22.0	12.8	51.0	21.4	(359)
Yuba City	29.0	8.7	2.9	72.4	21.7	(69)
Chico	22.7	16.0	5.3	65.4	30.7	(75)
Oroville	29.6	22.2	11.1	59.2	22.2	(27)
Paradise	20.0	7.5	5.0	42.5	20.0	(40)
Mendocino Town	33.3	34.7	22.7	32.0	9.3	(75)
Mendocino Mountains	30.1	35.6	24.7	37.0	24.7	(73)
Retired Newcomers	8.9	13.3	11.9	35.6	28.1	(135)
Unemployed and Other Newcomers	61.5	35.9	41.0	53.8	20.5	(39)
Employed Long-term Residents	35.2	14.1	15.5	64.8	15.5	(71)
Retired and Other Long-term Residents	22.9	28.6	17.1	54.3	17.1	(35)

that it was easy or very easy, and the other half reporting that it was difficult or very difficult.

Urban types of services. The newcomer has been expected to desire more public urban-type services than long-term residents — a desire that could lead to serious local conflicts. Our data indicate, however, that the majority of newcomers are not coming to rural areas expecting to have all the public services they had in the city. For example, only 12.8 percent of the employed newcomers used welfare, in contrast to 15.5 percent of employed long-timers. Public medical services, however, were more often used by employed newcomers than by long-term residents. More indicative, when asked about a list of services that are sometimes available to people in local communities, only 21.4 percent of the newcomers replied that there were public services that were needed but unavailable. More retired persons wanted services than did the employed, and the common complaint of retired residents was that public transportation was inadequate. There was fairly strong general agreement with the statement, "I want better public services here such as schools, roads, parks, public transportation." In the sample as a whole 37 percent agreed with this statement, while 11 percent strongly agreed. This desire for improved quality of public services was shared by the long-term residents — an even greater proportion indicating that they wanted better quality services.

In sum, the new migrants to California's rural counties are neither greatly needy of public social services nor are they heavy users of them. Like other persons elsewhere they wish that the quality of services was improved, but they do not see the lack of services as a barrier to employment.

Community Differences in Migration

The preceding findings illustrate the character of the migrants moving into selected rural communities in California. We have shown data on migrants to each community and have pointed out some differences between newcomers in one community as opposed to those in other places as we detailed the findings; in the following pages we will try to consolidate what we found out about each type of community and provide some general commentary about migration into each of our five community types. Any other community in California or the nation will probably not be a close match to any one community we identified here, but within the range we studied parallels may be extrapolated. County seats or university towns have certain parallels to other county seats or university towns, and it may be anticipated that the migrants to one share some similar characteristics with migrants to others. At the least, we think that a comparision to our study of communities will provide policy makers and researchers with some projected characteristics for further investigation.

County seat and trade centers. Our first sample community, Yuba City, is typical of many rural county seats. It is a growing center of population and economic development, stimulated by the presence of the county government services, employment, by local purchases of

supplies, and by the central location of most county seats in relation to the major transportation, trade, and communications linkages in the countryside. Because of these forces, county seats throughout the nation have consistently grown faster than rural areas as a whole (Beale, 1978), and the present study shows that their expanding economies were providing a major stimulus to rural growth. Employment opportunities thus are the most likely source of motivation for migration into county seats, although the people who come are also strongly attracted by the rural atmosphere.

Yuba City is also a central trade center, with major distribution and processing facilities for the rich agricultural production near town. Major crops here include rice, wheat, alfalfa, hay, corn, and many fruit and nut crops. Although few newcomers were associated with farm industries, the presence of these industries gave the town a wider base for supporting the varied services which the newcomers represented. Trucking and warehousing are also significantly present in cities like Yuba City due to their central placement along the county's major highways. The generally affluent population of these trade and government centers make possible a wide variety of service industries that are not found in other types of rural growth communities.

Among the newcomers, professional services and government were clearly the largest employers: managers, semiprofessionals, and professionals were the most common occupational categories. While many highly skilled workers are mobile, looking for other opportunities as they progress to the top of their agency or business, most are committed to living in rural communities. Furthermore, in county seat communities there is enough professional stimulation and communication so that the majority of highly specialized and skilled workers do not feel isolated. An equally important characteristic of county seats is that they have a significant need for clerical help, and this provides a base for female employment in two-income families. While many of these clerical jobs are not high paying, they provide opportunities not available in other rural settings.

Professional university communities. Our second sample community, Chico, is a center for skilled professional service workers and for innovative social programs. As a university community, Chico has the highest proportion of respondents with some college education of any of our study communities (66 percent). It has many of the characteristics of the government center, with a significant share of professional service and technical assistance programs being located where university resources are, but these are often more specialized professionally and based on grants or other funding. University communities are also often trade centers catering to an affluent rural population. In the past, rapid student population growth led to expansion of university employment, although that is likely to slow in the future. The fact that few of our migrants to Chico were actually employed by the University, however, may indicate that university-based economies are able to generate an extensive amount of other employment indirectly stimulated by teaching institutions.

Professional services such as law, medicine, engineering, accounting, computer services, welfare, and specialized consulting are the dominant types of employment in Chico, employing 36 percent of the newcomers. In these specialties Chico provides services to a whole region with its large and well staffed hospitals, restored office buildings, and active civic and cultural life. The attraction of places like Chico for professionals is that the university community has the amenities they desire, yet in the midst of an attractive rural environment. The job is often a major factor in attracting professionals to a university community, though many come with the anticipation of starting a specialized practice or service of some sort. Equally important, many are professionals graduated from the university who do not want to leave the area for life style reasons, and to stay they find or create jobs for themselves, although admitting that they could have been financially better off elsewhere.

Associated with the university community is a significant amount of cultural innovation and change. Certain types of groups are typical, especially those experimenting with alternative life styles. It is also a congenial atmosphere for female heads of household. Chico had the highest number of women supporting families of all our communities (22 percent) although they earn the lowest amount of any group identified in the study. Clerical work is clearly a factor, with the large number of professional and university-related jobs.

In regard to public services, Chico newcomers share the local bias against increased public services such as employment, public health, or welfare. The exception is senior nutrition and referral services. In Chico a large network of support services is associated with the state college, which is one reason why newcomers do not want or need more public services. Their attitude of self-reliance and distrust of government indicates that they want improved services and accountability within the range of services offered by local agencies and government rather than increased services. Nonetheless, 30 percent of the newcomers in Chico responded that they need more public services, mainly transportation. There is a great deal of consciousness about preserving social, economic, and physical resources. Coalitions such as the Chico 1000, a group

of farmers, environmentalists, city officials, businessmen, and others concerned about maintaining the agricultural economy and rural character and atmosphere of the area, are not unlike newcomers in wishing to preserve the simple rural life style.

Retirement communities. The presence of retirement communities in rural areas is one of the major factors stimulating the development of the more isolated and less central rural communities. Attracted by lower costs and pleasant physical and social surroundings, retirees from cities are moving in large numbers to certain rural communities. These communities generally have moderate climates, although Voss and Fuguitt (1979) note that many retirees who live in places with harsh winters travel to sunny places to avoid the worst of the cold and snow. Many of the retirees come to the community by buying a "dream lot" and holding the lot until they retire, at which time they build a house or move a trailer onto the property. Although many retirement communities are dominated by persons living on social security and pensions who do not want to work, the provision of services to retired persons as well as the presence of other service and occasionally manufacturing industries means that there are significant opportunities for other persons. In our sample community, Paradise, we found that just under half of the newcomers were younger persons employed to provide services of one sort or another in the community.

Retired persons bring outside income in the form of pensions and social security to the community, as well as savings and investment income from the sale of an urban house. This usually provides an adequate base of income for the migrants to the retirement community, although they have significantly lower incomes than working persons. Employed non-retirees are active in construction, professional services, and trade, with little evidence that retired persons want to work at all in any way. The low unemployment rate (4 percent) also illustrates the employment opportunities working persons find in these communities.

Some retirement communities include persons who are phasing into retirement. Occasionally the wife moves there permanently while the working husband commutes. Others live there during periods of disability and recovery. Still others live in retirement communities while closing out a business and selling an urban house. Some families stay part time in the retirement house while in partial retirement. These patterns also provide an economic base for retirement communities.

Paradise attracted many of its residents from urban areas such as Los Angeles, where television ads were run selling land. As with many retirement communities, the name *Paradise* reflects the common vision of an attractive retreat from the pressures of urban living. The name probably came from an historical account of coaches stopping under a large pine tree on the ridge where the town is located, several thousand feet in elevation above the hot Central Valley, where passengers could get out to stretch and breath the clean, cool air. They reportedly would say, "This is paradise." An alternate speculation is that the name came from the Pair-O-Dice Saloon located in the town in 1856. In any case, such historical tales are abundant in retirement communities and are part of the idealized culture on which they thrive.

Tourist communities. Many tourist communities are attractive retirement places, but the town of Mendocino in our sample draws its distinctive migrant population from another characteristic. The attractive setting along the California coast is a haven for people who are economically independent, who have a great deal more wealth than the typical retiree and who are still active in their professional and financial life. These persons continue to work and to be involved in the larger economy of the region, state, and nation, but they have found ways to do it from a significant distance. One lawyer works several months every couple of years in Switzerland practicing international law, and spends the rest of his time preparing and corresponding from his home office in rural Mendocino. Easy travel and communications make this possible. Similarly, other professionals are finding ways to do their work from a rural location. Many are writers or artists who find the rural setting conducive to their work. A variety of cottage industries is also present. Finally, some newcomers find employment in servicing the large number of tourists who come to the area, although these jobs are somewhat seasonal and low paying.

The overall high level of education among working newcomers is significant. Professional degrees, including the M.A. and Ph.D., are held by 28 percent of the newcomers, and most of these are working in professional occupations of some sort or are involved in an artistic pursuit. Others are on their second career, having made a major change, of which migration was one component. With these skills and occupational pursuits, newcomers in tourist communities live full-time in a setting that others come to for only short periods, enjoying year-round the scenery and facilities such as restaurants, theaters, and shops. Yet they also live another life in the tourist community, largely invisible to the tourist. This is a life of active economic activity oriented to regional, state, and national markets.

In these communities only a few migrants are employed in the services directed primarily at tourists such as hotels, motels, shops, and eating places. Clearly

there are some who are employed in these businesses, or who have established them, but we were surprised to find that the majority were living in rural areas without dependence on tourist income. The artists produce for the local tourist market, but they find that this is not as lucrative as is required. An effort to market local artist products in urban areas is under way. Other newcomer professionals offer their services to each other and to people who live in the surrounding region. These include special schools, technical services, law, medicine, and other professions.

Counterculture communities. The final type of community we studied was the small, remote, counterculture community to which young persons desiring escape to a largely self-sufficient life style move. These persons, more than migrants to other communities, valued life style most highly in choosing their rural location, and they remain more marginal to the growing new rural economy. In many ways these migrants experience a traditional pattern of rural life — pleasant settings but needy economies and service delivery systems.

The Mendocino mountains established their countercultural character when they became the early destination of many of the hippie youth who congregated in the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco during the 1960s. After their urban neighborhood got too touristic, expensive, and even dangerous, many left to find a way to act out their ideology in a rural scene. In Mendocino they found life hard, but they were free to live off the land and enjoy their life style as they pleased. It was also possible to grow much of the marijuana they smoked, thus starting one of the major industries of that area today. Estimates suggest that the illegal cultivation of marijuana is the third largest agricultural crop in the county, and is a major source of income to many residents living in the back country. Because the cultivation of marijuana is not a typical option in most parts of the country, we did not aim to study this subculture, and in fact we learned little about it. What we did learn, however, is that it is a significant economy in the rural communities of Mendocino County, that many people make a great deal of money from it, and that many others have experienced legal problems as a result. Our analysis, however, is of the legal part of the economy in these communities, an economic base that is likely to be common to many other very dispersed parts of the country where people try living simply in a remote rural community with only the most limited economic options.

The isolation of the mountain rural communities where countercultural migrants settle is reflected in lower average incomes and an unemployment rate nearly double that of most other communities we studied. In part this may reflect the lower educational level of these young migrants and their lack of experience in professional or other occupations. Consequently, many of them have to depend on existing industries such as lumber mills or other natural resource processors for employment, although the number of persons finding work in traditional mills or with large companies is smaller than might be expected. It is interesting in this regard that migrants to the Mendocino mountains had the highest rate of small business starts of any other community, except along the coast in the town of Mendocino. Most of these businesses are production-related, such as arts, crafts, construction, and the like. Others are in trade, with the highest proportion of employment in this industry of all our communities. These businesses are a means of survival and part of the character of the rural mountain community, but they are not booming financial successes, and few employ others.

The scant economic opportunities for these newcomers lead to a greater dependence on public services. Often various forms of unemployment benefits, welfare, medical aid, and special clinics are vital for the persons to overcome their hardships, and without them they would be forced to leave rural life, with no assurance that they would be better off wherever they might go. In these mountainous communities there is a strong feeling that more services are needed and that better delivery of those existing is warranted. This may reflect the belief that public social services are necessary and deserved, which is part of the countercultural ethic. Our finding that the rate of service use by the Mendocino migrants is larger than that of other communities demonstrates that these services are in fact available, something that is not true of all remote rural communities.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we have seen a great variety of community responses to the rural migrant, and we have demonstrated that there is a great variety in the migratory streams flowing to each community (see also Bradshaw and Blakely, 1979). We have further shown that some migrants to rural communities are more strongly oriented to employment opportunities than others, and that some are strongly attracted to a particular location because of the rural atmosphere, even if it means great economic sacrifice. Regardless of employment prospects, the migrants take a great deal of responsibility for creating their own economic base, although there are clear differences in what they are able to work with in terms of need for professional services, markets for their products, and opportunities to benefit from the

tourist trade. In the next sections the policy implications of these various experiences will be detailed.

Policy Directions

The data from this research substantiate the research reported in our earlier study (Bradshaw and Blakely, 1979) indicating that rural areas are no longer economically depressed and lacking in the physical and human resources necessary to participation in a growing economy. This appears to be true, at least in California and probably throughout the most attractive, growing, nonmetropolitan counties in the rest of the nation. However, most governmental policies continue to be directed toward rural areas as though they suffer serious resource deficiencies. Clearly some rural places in California and elsewhere have serious lags, and many of the communities which we did not study are included in this generalization. Moreover, some of the long-term residents, and in particular the female heads of household and the small number of the unskilled unemployed, are outside the main currents of change in California's rural economy. The emerging challenge for policy makers is to fashion policies that take advantage of the stimulus to growth the newcomers and growth areas provide, while making sure that the less advantaged benefit as well.

In order to understand the emerging conditions in rural California, it is necessary to understand that the problems of poverty, unemployment, and under-employment as well as more subtle forms of economic disadvantage and discrimination persist. What is different is the context in which these problems are embedded — the changing nature, direction, and extent of the problems. The Employment Development Department can and should play a more creative and vital role in helping growing rural and nonmetropolitan communities manage their new opportunities and older challenges.

Challenging the Myths

In order to fully comprehend the changing economy in California and the particular impact it has on rural areas, it is necessary to reexamine some commonly held views or myths about employment, economic development, and public welfare in rural areas.

Wage differential. The prevalent economic theory that differences in wages are the most significant force in population migration is no longer true for rural areas. It is quite apparent that quality of life (housing, low crime rate, rural atmosphere, simplicity of life, less congestion, and so on) are more important than wages in the recent rural migration. This is no indicator of the end of economic security or a lack of concern for economic issues in general. Rather this is a manifestation of two more fundamental factors. First, the affluence of the nation allows more people to retire in relative ease in small towns and thus create or stimulate local economies through transfer payments accumulated elsewhere. Under good economic conditions others may work at lower wages and still earn enough to live well. This also means that the overall amenity level in rural areas has climbed to the point where the disadvantage in terms of basic personal needs is not so great anymore. Second, technological change has made it possible for more people to develop jobs or work at a distance from urban centers. This includes the diffusion of more specialized retail outlets, research facilities, and the like to rural communities, as well as the potential for more communication-dependent employment. Although these patterns often entail some economic sacrifice, there are many who are opting to take advantage of them. Thus, the major dynamic of population growth is not wages, but life style.

Traditional human resources model. The traditional human resources model for economic development presupposes that increasing educational levels and attendant skill capacity will cause local economies to flourish. The proponents of this concept would also suggest that improvements in rural educational programs would at least allow rural youth to better compete for urban jobs. At first glance, the development of highly sophisticated technologies and professional services within our research area might be seen as an indication that there is validity to the traditional model. Indeed, the availability of improved skills among the rural work force is an indication that improved education has been beneficial, and the fact that the unemployed are so underskilled calls for more attention to training. However, the traditional model places its emphasis on secondary school training whereas the economies we are witnessing in rural California depend on skills available primarily through the community college and university. The presence of these post-secondary institutions has provided additional local training and development capacity. This capacity allows high-technology, knowledge-intensive, and professional types of work to be created. Further, high quality collegiate training provides more opportunity for beneficial programs for the long-term residents as well.

Thus there seem to be few places in the emerging rural economy for very low skilled people who can take advantage of traditional human resource programs of a brief course or some on-the-job training. The people

who have few skills are very disadvantaged while the economy makes little room for them. They need to be pushed from their low-skills emphasis into programs destined to take them a long way. A few people getting a few new skills is not going to take care of the problems of these people in the emerging economy.

Rural industrial growth. Among the most prevalent schemes for improving rural economies has been the competition for new plant locations. This strategy of "smokestack chasing" was first employed by southern states to attract textile mills from New England. Combinations of low wages, cheaper land, tax breaks, and variances on environmental controls did make a difference in the movement of these firms to southern small towns. However, the available evidence shows that the net benefit of this form of industrial recruitment to receiving cities is marginal and in many instances negative (Summers et al., 1976).

Analogous economic development activities are constantly being proposed by small town officials in California and elsewhere, especially under the guise of the industrial park. While the current attraction is not textile mills but rather bottling plants or Japanese automobile production plants, the potential benefits to the community of attracting outside companies are still probably marginal.

It seems clear to us that the economy of rural California communities can better be developed from within than via recruitments of outside firms. The strategy for developing indigenous industry is vastly different from seeking existing firms. In fact, we believe that the emerging growth industries of the 1980s are uniquely suited to location in rural California (and rural California is uniquely suited to provide a home for them). For example, in electronics, telecommunications, information and data services, solar and alternative energy production, as well as in much of the professional service sector, rural locations make sense for a decentralized industrial base. Thus the strategy for rural economic development requires a program oriented toward stimulating these emerging types of growth industries.

Capital infrastructure. For many years rural officials have placed considerable emphasis on linking rural areas to urban centers through road and electricity systems, for example, or increasing the capacity of local public utilities in order to accommodate large businesses. This emphasis has meant massive amounts of public funds spent for upgrading sewers, water systems, roads and industrial sites, in the hope that this would create magnet communities capable of attracting significant new economic growth. To some extent, of course, this has been successful, and these expenditures have long been overdue in many deteriorating small communities. However, these improvements are preconditions for growth and a justifiable improvement of rural life styles, but they have had little impact on the stimulation of local economies.

While public works or physical infrastructure improvements remain important, too often public officials see them as the primary focus of their development efforts and pay too much attention to them. More attention needs to be given to the social and business conditions that make certain new growth industries attractive to various areas. For example, small businesses rarely need better water and sewer service, but rather improved credit availability, help in reducing red tape, and readily available support services such as accounting. Local economic development efforts could profitably be directed in these ways.

The welfare function. Public welfare in a variety of forms, ranging from food stamps to CETA programs, have been of great importance in the past to the stimulation of rural areas. These transfer programs are a necessary first step in providing a cushion for rural populations suffering from limited economic opportunities. However, the availability of these programs has a limited relevance to the bulk of the participants in the growing rural economy. For example, unemployment insurance is and will remain an essential component of rural economic development activities, just as it is essential in urban centers. However, more is needed in the changing rural economy than an improved support structure.

Again, we emphasize that the emerging rural economy (and urban as well) may be experiencing an increasing structural gulf between the affluent, growing, dynamic sectors and the people who have the skills and experience to work in them, and the declining, limited, poverty-producing sectors and the underprivileged who are restricted to those sectors. The strength of the rural growth community economy documented in this report and the contrast that emerges between this sector and the conditions or people not reported here, such as displaced farm workers, is not rendered irrelevant by this study but is put in sharper contrast. The real challenge, as noted before, is to create ways of transferring some of the growth of the expanding sector of rural economies to the less advantaged. There are many structural barriers to be overcome in doing this, such as the limited skill level of the disadvantaged, the gulf between ethnic cultures, and the lack of credit, information, and linkage within the less advantaged sector.

In sum, it may be that the rural areas of California and other growth areas are offering us the first real indication that employment services need to be recast and

reconsidered. When nearly half of the newcomers can start their own work and when they have better skills than most of the people in economic development projects in rural areas, then the traditional role of the economic developer must be revised. To simply provide job listing services and administer unemployment checks may have been useful for other types of economy; today, these services are grossly inadequate for the demands of the changing rural economy. We are suggesting that the employment developer needs a new role to be able to take advantage of the resources brought by the migrants to the rural areas of California. They may well be the pioneers on the latest frontier of the nation's economic growth.

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